

# COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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## TO THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EX-CHEQUER.

SIR,—The peace of Amiens was, by you and your colleagues, defended, principally, upon the ground of *economy*. You have, indeed, at different times, styled it a peace of honour, a peace of security, a peace of experiment, and, finally, a peace of the people; but, the standing defence, the reply to every argument, the opiate for every apprehension, the compensation for every sacrifice whether of interest or of honour, has been, *the economy of peace*. All mankind dislike paying taxes, of any and of every sort. Men of reflexion and of elevated minds, will, indeed, prefer the bearing of taxation, and will even support poverty and misery, rather than see the safety of their country endangered, or its honour tarnished; but, with the mass of every people, to get rid of pecuniary burdens is, at all times, a positive good; and, in a country where a great portion of the wealth of individuals consists of a species of property, the value of which is enhanced by every diminution in the expenses of the state, a measure, be it wise or unwise, be it virtuous or wicked, which promises a *reduction of public expenditure*, will seldom fail to be received with general applause. Aware of this selfish propensity, you, Sir, seem to have availed yourself, to the full extent, of the temporary advantage which it gave you over your opponents, who appealed to the better, but, unfortunately, less prevalent feelings of the people.—Had you, however, in pursuance of this your art of acquiring and preserving popularity, confined your statements within the bounds of *truth*, though I should still have condemned the principle, I should have had no disposition to bestow any particular censure on the practice; had the *economy of the peace of Amiens* been *fairly* laid before the public, I should still have despised the people, who could look upon *economy*, whatever its magnitude, as a compensation for the loss of permanent security and of honour; but, I should have been ready to acquit you of an intention to abuse those despicable people; had you, in order to preserve your place, your power, and

your profits; had you, in order to gratify your own vanity and covetousness, and to quiet the cravings of your numerous and greedy relations and dependents; had you, for those, or for any other purposes, availed yourself of the selfishness of the people, without practising upon their *ignorance*, I should have condemned your conduct, but should have acknowledged its effect to be a just punishment on those by whom that effect was experienced. But, Sir, your financial statements do not leave you even this title to forbearance. Those statements, from the moment the peace was concluded to the present time, have, from some cause or other, been such as tend to *deceive* the nation, to create and maintain opinions, relative to the *economy of the peace of Amiens*, totally false in themselves, and extremely dangerous in their consequences. To counteract, in some degree, at least, the tendency of these statements is the object of the present letter to you, an object which I shall endeavour to accomplish by a detail of facts and a mode of arguing, reduced, for reasons too delicate to mention, to the level of the meanest capacity.

In the execution of this task, I propose, 1. To compare the peace expenditure, as set forth in the estimate, sanctioned by the House of Commons, in June last, with the peace expenditure, estimated in your speech of the 10th of December last; 2. To compare your estimate of the receipts, as set forth in your speech of the 10th of December, with the actual receipts of the last, and the probable receipts of the present year; and, 3. To compare the receipts and expenditure of peace with the receipts and expenditure of war, if war had been continued.—Before I enter on these comparisons, I must make one observation, for the purpose of sending off the misrepresentation, which might otherwise, by ignorant cavillers, be levelled at my consistency. I already hear the cowardly charge of “disheartening the people at this *alarming* crisis,” and the more serious charge of “encouraging the enemy by exposing our weakness:” to obviate these charges, I most explicitly declare, as I have done on many occasions heretofore, that I

do not regard money as the principal source of national strength; and that, so far from desponding on account of the present depreciation of what is called public credit, in itself considered, I am thoroughly convinced, that a total stoppage of the payment of the interest on the funded debt, or, in other words, *a national bankruptcy*, would not, if the state were under the guidance of wise men, disable us from maintaining all our present dominions, and recovering all the honours, of which we have been stripped by your degrading and ignominious peace. Coupled with this declaration, therefore, no statement, no conclusion, of mine, however disadvantageous to the financial affairs of the country, can possibly be attributed to a desire to create despondency in the hearts of the people, whom, on the contrary, I wish to convince, that they cannot if they would, and that they ought not if they could, rely, for their safety, on the pecuniary credit of the state; and, moreover, that that credit whatever may be its utility, has been considerably depreciated by the peace, and can never be perfectly restored but by the means of war, "*a successful war against France.*"

1. In order to draw a comparison between the peace expenditure as set forth in the estimate, sanctioned by the House of Commons in June last, and the peace expenditure estimated in your speech of the 10th of December last, it will be necessary first, correctly to state the former of those estimates, which, in your own words, was as follows: \*

" 19. That it appears, by a report of a committee of this house, in 1791, that the actual expenditure (including the annual million for the reduction of the public debt) on an average of five years peace, ending the 5th of January, 1791, and including sundry extraordinary expenses for the armament of 1787, and for payments to American loyalists, and other articles of a temporary nature, amounted to 16,816,985. But the peace establishment was estimated by the said committee at £15,969,178 [With which estimate the actual expense of the year 1792 nearly agreed.] In the above sum was included the charge of the public debt, amounting to 10,325,000*l.* from which is to be deducted the charge of stock extinguished by the redemp-

\* See Register, Vol. I. p. 1413, *et seq.* which contain twenty resolutions, on the financial state of the country, moved by Mr. Addington, on the 21st of June, 1802, and adopted by the House, without either opposition or remark. The above extract contains the last but one of these resolutions, which is, indeed, the only one applicable to the present discussion.

tion of land-tax, on the 5th of January, 1802 .....

£540,000

15,429,178

" That the additional permanent charge incurred by the debt created since

" 1793, exclusive of interest payable by Ireland, is .....

13,597,594

" That the additional charge to be incurred for increased amount of exchequer bills outstanding, is about .....

140,000

" Interest of money for satisfying increased navy debt, at 5*l.* per cent. is about .....

270,000

" That the additional charge incurred on the consolidated fund, is ....

390,000

" That the additional charge incurred for a sum appropriated for the redemption of the public debt, is ..

200,000

" And that the increased expenses of the peace establishment (exclusive of any charges to be incurred

" by interest on further sums, to be paid on winding up the expenses of the war; and of any augmentation which may take place

" in the naval or military establishments, but allowing for increase

" or pay and other expenses) may be estimated at .....

700,000

" And also exclusive of 497,000*l.* interest on loans, due by the Emperor of Germany, and guaranteed by parliament, may be estimated at .....

£30,726,772

This statement, Sir, is founded upon the *expenditure of the last peace*. Why such foundation was taken, except for the purpose of deception, it will, I am afraid, be difficult for you to explain. Having made a most disgraceful peace, it was, for the reasons before mentioned, necessary for you to make the country believe, that the *economy* of it would be very great. To give a specification of the different articles of the expense of your permanent peace establishment, to fix the amount of the several sums necessary for the support of the army, the navy, and the ordnance, respectively, would, however, have been to expose yourself to immediate refutation, or, at least, to furnish a powerful weapon, to be used against you at no very distant period. To shield yourself, therefore, as securely as possible, against all assaults of this nature, you affect, in this statement, not to have any other standard, whereby to judge of the probable magnitude of the future peace expenditure, than the expenditure of the *last peace*.—As if you had said to the parliament: "Gentlemen, the war, the *extended, bloody, and expensive* "*war,*" being now happily put an end to, we must, in order to ascertain our future expenses, look back, and see what were our expenses previous to that war; for,





the war being now over, we shall, of course, *revert to the state which we were in before it began*.—Upon this most fallacious notion you proceeded to make your estimate, taking first the expenditure of 1791, and adding thereto the additional annual charges on account of the national debt and civil list, and allowing £700,000 a year, additional expenses for the army, navy, and ordnance, making, together, £30,726,772 as the total of the expenditure of that blessed peace, in obtaining which for your country, you had been “the humble instrument in the hands of Divine Providence.” (2) Stripping this estimate of its treasury jargon and verbosity, it will stand thus:

Annual expenditure of last peace....	£15,429,178
Additional annual expenses incurred since the beginning of the war, exclusive of army, navy, and ordnance	14,597,594
Amount of what the army, navy, and ordnance will cost, during the present peace, more than what they cost during the last peace.....	700,000
	<hr/> £30,926,772

This was the estimate, on which the nation was to rely, as on the most authentic information that could possibly be obtained relative to its future expenses; and, as you, at the same time, estimated the revenue at £32,208,833, leaving a balance of £1,282,061 in favour of the revenue, the prospect was, altogether, very flattering to the lovers of peace and the haters of taxes.—But, Sir, before I proceed further in the examination of this estimate, let me ask, how you came to adopt such a strange mode of making it out? Would it not have been much more natural to take the year 1801, instead of 1791, as a basis, and to proceed by subtraction in place of addition? Would not this have been more consonant with that *candour*, for which you are so famous? The total expenditure of 1801, the last and most expensive year of war, was £63,054,978 (3) and, was not the natural mode of estimating, to state what part of this expenditure could, in consequence of peace, be dispensed with? Yes, this was the fair and only rational course of proceeding; but this course would not have suited the object, which you had in view. The specific deductions you could have ventured to make from the expenditure of 1801 would, upon the whole, have produced no very considerable diminution, whereas, a comparison between the expenditure of 1801 and that of 1791 was striking; it was

calculated to produce instant effect upon the gaping, greedy gamblers in the funds. To add £700,000 to the last peace establishment, was much easier than to subtract £40,000 000 or even £25 000 000 from the establishment of the war. (4)

The two first heads of your estimate, as new-arranged by me, I must allow to be correct, because, though I have not the materials whereby to verify them, they are of a nature not to be materially mistated. It is the third head that furnishes the object of detection and exposure. Under this head you state, that the army, navy, and ordnance will, during the present peace, cost only 700,000 a year more than those departments of service cost during the last peace. You do, indeed, provide for an evasion by saying, parenthetically, that this calculation is exclusive of any augmentations that may take place; but, the evident tendency of all your statements and declarations, is, to discourage the idea of any such augmentation. Let us, then, first inquire what was the annual expense of maintaining the army, navy, and ordnance, at the time which you have chosen to refer to. In the same report which you cite (the report of the Committee of the House of Commons in 1791) the said annual expense was stated at £4,123,842, of which £2,000,000 for the navy, £1,748,842 for the army, and £375,000 for the ordnance. Adding to this expense the £700,000, which you, in your estimate, allow for increase of expense in these branches of the public service, our present peace establishment, would be, £4,823,842 according to the following more arithmetical exhibition:

Expenditure last peace {	Navy .....	£2,000,000
	Army .....	1,748,842
	Ordnance .....	375,000
		<hr/> 4,123,842
Add your increase .....		700,000
		<hr/> 4,823,842
Your estimate of the present peace establishment .....		£4,823,842

Such, Sir, was your estimate on the 21st of June, 1802; such was the estimate which the last most negligent, and infatuated Parliament sanctioned by their vote of that day; and such were the grounds, on which the more infatuated people were called on to applaud the peace of Amiens, and to repose unlimited confidence, in your wisdom, integrity, and candour! On the 10th of December, 1802, in less than six

(2) See that specimen of most disgusting vanity, folly, and arrogance, Mr. Addington's speech at the *Reading Hall*; Register, Vol. II. p. 1036.

(3) See Register, Vol. II. p. 911.

(4) See Register, Vol. II. p. 1149 and 1705, where it will be seen, that Mr. Addington calculated the savings of peace, at one time, at 40 millions, and, at another time, at 25 millions.

months after this estimate went forth to the world, you came to Parliament with another, founded upon the experience which that space of time had afforded you. In this second estimate of the establishment of the present peace, you rise from £4,823,842 to £10,533,000 (5). But, this is still short of the *real* expenditure; for, in the very same speech, in which you made this estimate, you ask for supplies, for the year 1803, to the amount of £14,957,325 which supplies have since been voted by the Parliament, as follows: (6)

Navy, ordinaries, extraordinaries, and buildings.....	£6,669,378
Army and extraordinaries .....	7,500,000
Ordnance .....	787,947

14,957,325

Subtract the amount of estimate of 21st

June, 1802 .....

4,823,842

Difference between the estimate of 21st

June, and that of the 10th of Dec. £10,133,483

Thus, then, here is the trifling sum of *ten millions* added to your first estimate of the annual expenditure of the present peace! And, pray, Sir, let it not be said, that circumstances had changed, that France was become more powerful or more hostile; for, this last mentioned estimate was laid before the parliament just *after* you had resolved, a second time, to *surrender the Cape of Good Hope*, and at a time when you talked of nothing but peace and economy. Let it not be insinuated, that you could not foresee the *present* crisis; for, I make no allusion to it. The *armament* is laid totally out of my calculations and my reasoning: I am merely comparing the estimate, which you made upon a prospect of peace, on the 21st of June, with that which you made, upon the same prospect of peace, on the 10th of December: I am speaking of the *savings of peace*, and not of the *expenses of a new war*. Your peace was made and justified upon the principle of *economy*: it is upon that principle that I am now trying it, without any reference to the expenses, which will be brought on the country by the present armament, and which have already arisen out of the disbanding and dismantling system of you and your colleagues: these will enter into another view of the subject: at present, my object is to expose the fallacy of your estimates, as applicable to a *state of peace*, to a continuation of that peace, by the means of which you were to "husband our resources;" those estimates, by which the people have been deluded, and

by which you have prolonged your ill-gotten and worse-employed power.

*Ten millions!* A sum nearly equal to the whole of our expenditure some years ago: and this sum now constitutes the *difference* only in your different estimates of the same peace establishment! Buonaparté had extended his power, it is true; but, he had siezed on Elba, Italy, and Piedmont, previous to the signature of the treaty; and, as to Germany and Switzerland, those were points which you had yielded previous to your second estimate. If you were apprehensive of approaching war, in the month of December, to what are we to attribute your second order to surrender the Cape? And, if you were not, if you had returned to your former confidence in the pacific disposition of France, how will you account for the more than tripling of your estimate of the naval and military expenditure of peace? Either you believed your estimate of June to be correct, or you did not. If the latter, what becomes of your candour; if the former, where is your understanding? But, it is not *your* character; that were a trifle; it is the character of the parliament and of the nation that is herein committed. Your estimate of June went forth, not only to the people of this country, but to the whole monied and commercial world, sanctioned by a vote of the House of Commons, on the votes of whose proceedings it is recorded. If a statement thus solemnly made, passed, and promulgated, be found totally destitute of truth, on what are men to place their reliance? Where are they to look for authentic information? Where are they to seek for the grounds of public confidence? The House of Commons suffered itself in this, as it has done in too many other instances, to be the ladder of ministerial ambition; and, when the aspiring individual is a Walpole, a Chatham, or a Pitt, one may find something to palliate, though nothing to justify, such blind acquiescence; but, that an assembly, chosen by the people to watch over all their public interests, and more especially those of a pecuniary nature; that six hundred noblemen and gentlemen, selected for their wisdom, their integrity, and their diligence, and calling themselves the constitutional guardians of the national purse; that, amongst these persons, no one should have been found to say NO to an estimate so glaringly fallacious; that they should all, all have become tame, passive instruments in *your* hands, the tools wherewith to work your way into the wealth and honours of the country, is a fact that stings one to the soul. Thousands of whigs bawling for parliamentary reform, tens of thou-

(5) See Register, Vol. II. p. 782.

(6) Ibid. p. 779.



sands of republicans raving for liberty and equality, millions of canting miscreants praying for the reign of the saints, are not, with all their united exertions, half so dangerous to the government of England as one fact like this; the natural and inevitable tendency of which is, first to disgust, and finally to alienate, every man, able and willing to render service to the state.

I should now enter on the remaining part of my task; but, as I perceive, that the comparison which I purpose to draw between the receipts and expenses of peace and those of war, if war had been continued, would require more room than I have at present to spare, I shall defer the two last topics of my proposed discussion to my next.—I have the honour to be, Sir, yours, &c. &c.

WM. COBBETT.

Duke Street, Westminster,

April 5, 1803.

APOTHECARIES' HALL.—FIRST OF APRIL.

*Celebration of Mr. Hiley Addington's Birthday; and Anniversary of the arrival of the Treaty of Amiens (1).*

The attendance of Friday did credit to the nation.

The company began to assemble at an early hour. The friends of the Family were in great numbers, and in high spirits. The preparations were splendid in the extreme, and would have been amply sufficient for the whole number of guests, had not the Reading Long Coach suddenly driven up to the door just as the company were sitting down to dinner, with a reinforcement not the less welcome for being unexpected. The passengers consisted of persons who had distinguished themselves at the Reading Ball, on the First of October in last year (2), and who came in the expectation of hearing another Speech on Peace, similar to the one which was addressed to them on that occasion, just two days previous to the remonstrance against the subjugation of Switzerland.

As soon as the arrangements of politeness between the London guests and their rural invaders were satisfactorily adjusted, the company sat down to dinner.

The decorations of the table were in a style highly creditable to the taste of the officer of the Hall, entrusted with the care of that department.

The centre ornaments consisted of models of ships of the line, in pastry-work, to the

exact number of fifty, each bearing on its flag the date of its preparation for sea, all of them within the space of one lunar month; in allusion to Mr. Addington's famous pledge in the House of Commons.

As soon as the cloth was removed, and after the usual preliminary toasts, the Chairman gave—

"The Peace of Amiens: the conciliation which governed, and the firmness which maintained it;"

which was drank with rapturous applause. This was followed by the well-known favourite song of "*The Pilot that Moored us in Peace* (3)," composed in praise of the elder Mr. Addington, as it is supposed by the younger. The following stanza in this justly popular and well-timed ballad:—

O! take then, for honour with spirit maintained,

For councils, by judgment and prudence matured;

O! take, for the Peace, which thy Wisdom has gained,

The thanks of an Empire whose rights are secured—

was received with a thunder of applause and exultation, and loudly and repeatedly encored. Its happy application to existing circumstances, seemed to make a forcible impression on the feelings of all who were present.

The next toast was very appropriate, being suggested in great part by the ornaments on the table already described.

"The Premier's three promises—Profound peace, fifty sail of the line in a month, and a million surplus at the end of the year."

We must leave to the sensibility of our readers to imagine the delirium of pleasure which this toast occasioned.

Then followed—

"The French Commercial Commissioners at the different Ports of Great Britain and Ireland."—Three times three.

"The First Consul of France! Peace and good understanding with him; and may we never displace an Administration which he protects, to make room for a faction which he fears!"—Nine times nine.

"The Family."

It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which this toast was received. It gave place only to the more tender emotions which were excited by the following beautiful Anacreontic, with which the company were favoured by three capital voices, said to be composed for the occasion by the Clerk of the Pells.

ANACREONTIC.

How blest, how firm the statesman stands,

(Him no low intrigue shall move)

Circled by faithful kindred bands,

And propp'd by fond fraternal love!

(1) A circumstance of account of the celebration of the Minister's Birthday on Michaelmas day last, will be found in Vol. II. p. 1034.

(2) See Vol. II. p. 1035.

(3) See Vol. II. p. 1037.

When his speeches hobble vilely,  
What "hear him!" burst from Brother Hiley;  
When his faltering periods lag,  
Hark to the cheers of Brother Brag!

When the faltering periods lag,  
Or his yawning audience flag;  
When his speeches hobble vilely,  
Or the House receives them drily;  
Cheer, O! cheer him, Brother Brag!  
Cheer, O! cheer him, Brother Hiley!

Each a gentleman at large,  
Lodged and fed at public charge;  
Paying (with a grace to charm ye):  
This the FLEET, and that the ARMY.

Brother Brag and Brother Hiley,  
Cheer him, when he speaks so vilely;  
Cheer him, when his audience flag,  
Brother Hiley, Brother Brag!

Nothing could exceed the effect of this exquisite little piece of poetry.

The toast which succeeded, and which concluded the festivity of the day, was adapted to the particular day and occasion of meeting; and was in some sort a question put for the decision of the company.

"May the Peace of Amiens be annually commemorated on the first of April!"

If we may judge from the reception which it met with, this sentiment was congenial to the wishes and feelings of all those to whom it was addressed; and we have little doubt that, for years to come, (should it please Buonaparté to continue to us the present advantageous peace, and to countenance the present "respectable" administration, so long), we shall have to announce to our readers that this *first* of treaties, concluded under the auspices of the *first* of ministers, has been appropriately celebrated on the *first* of the month in which we are now writing; and we are persuaded, that long after the treaty of Amiens shall have been not only annulled, but utterly disbelieved, and the name of Addington irretrievably forgotten, there will remain attached to the *first* of April a certain peculiar character of simple sacredness and holiday gaiety, for which future ages will, perhaps, be at a loss to account, but which will, in fact, have originated from the double celebration of Friday.

#### PUBLIC PAPERS.

##### OFFICIAL PAPERS RELATIVE TO GOREE.

*The Commandant and Administrator-General of Senegal and its Dependencies, to the Minister for Naval and Colonial Affairs.—Senegal, Jan. 5, 1803.*

Citizen Minister,—I have the honour to address to you the subjoined correspondence between myself and Colonel Frazer, Governor of Goree, since my arrival at Senegal, in order that you may thereby understand in what manner that Governor, for the King of Great Britain, appears to evade the restitution of the Isle of Goree, even after having assured me, that he would very soon

specify the very day upon which he should be ready actually to cede it.—Not knowing what might be his true motives for an evasive conduct so extraordinary, I have thought it my duty to inform you of the fact, as soon as it appeared to me to be attended with suspicious circumstances. I have the honour to inform you, that I have, for this end, dispatched the galliot *La Légère* to Rochfort, as the most certain and expeditious means that I could on this occasion employ.—*Blanchot.*

Jan 26.—Since the date of the above letter, I have received another letter from Goree, which I likewise submit.

*The Commandant and Administrator-General of Senegal and its Dependencies, to Col. Frazer, Governor for his Britannic Majesty of the Isle of Goree.—Senegal, Oct. 30, 1802.*

Governor,—I have the honour to address to you the subjoined orders from his Majesty, the King of Great Britain, respecting the restitution of Goree. Having orders to take possession of that Isle and the factories dependent upon it, as Commissary for the French Republic, I request you to inform me on what day it may be most agreeable to you, that we should carry into effect the orders of our respective Governments; and that the French garrison should go to relieve the garrison of his Britannic Majesty now in the Isle.—I have given orders to Citizen Montfort, *Enseigne de vaisseau*, the bearer of this letter, and of the dispatches from his Britannic Majesty, to inquire, at the same time, whether you have orders to return the salute of our artillery with an equal number of guns? He will also signify to you, that I have the greatest pleasure in the prospect of seeing you personally, and of passing some short time in your company, which this occasion affords.—Permit me, Sir, to recommend to your civilities, during his stay at Goree, this officer, who is known to me for honourable conduct, and who, on this occasion, offered himself to be the bearer of these dispatches, instead of my *Aid-de-Camp*.—*Blanchot.*

*To his Excellency General Blanchot, Commandant and Administrator-General of Senegal, &c.—Goree, November 9, 1802.*

Sir,—I have had the honour to receive your letter of the 26th of last month, by which, I am informed that you have authority, as Commissary of the French Republic, to take possession of this Isle, and are also the bearer of orders from his Britannic Majesty to me, relative to the same object.—I am ready to deliver up this place to you as soon as a transport, which I expect, shall furnish me with the means of evacuation, and of carrying away the garrison, provisions, &c.—The arrival of this transport may be speedily expected from the measures I have taken for that purpose.—As soon as the transport arrives, I shall have the honour to write to you in order to settle the day for restoring to you this Isle, conformably to the orders of our respective Governments.—I rely also upon the obliging offer you have communicated to me verbally by your *Aid-de-Camp*, M. Montfort, that assistance will serve to convey part of my provisions to Sierra Leone, the quantity being rather large.—Your salute shall be returned gun for gun.—Permit me to congratulate you upon your return to a colony which you have been able to preserve during so long a war, and to assure you of the pleasure I shall have in culti-



vating a particular acquaintance with you.—I have the honour to be, &c.—*John Frazer.*

*The Commandant and Administrator-General of Senegal and its Dependencies, to Colonel Frazer, Governor for his Britannic Majesty, of the Isle of Goree.—Senegal, 27 Brumaire.*

M. Governor,—Citizen Montfort has delivered to me the letter you did me the honour to write to me, under date of the 9th Nov. 1802 (18th Brumaire).—The uncertainty in which it places the day upon which we shall be able to carry into execution the orders of our respective Governments, has determined me to dispatch immediately the corvette *Impatient*, charged with a mission posterior to the resuming the possession of the Isle of Goree, and to make use for that object of a sloop and a cutter of the Republic, which are to remain here under my orders.—I join with Citizen Arnous, Lieutenant-Commander of the *Impatient*, in intreating you to procure him the succours which he may want during his stay in Goree Harbour, where he is going to wood and water.—As the arrival of the transport which you expect may cause a delay in the execution of our respective orders, which might, perhaps, bring upon us the reproach of dilatoriness, which certainly neither of us would wish to deserve, I have the honour to observe to you, that we may effect the resuming the possession of the Isle of Goree, before the arrival of your transport, by taking all the precautions which you may think necessary to ensure the preservation of the articles which the transport may afterwards carry away. One of the vessels which I shall carry with me, may be employed in the conveyance of your garrison to Sierra Leone, and another in the conveyance of your person and some effects. I beg you to take into consideration, what I have the honour to propose to you, and to inform me of your dispositions. Receive, Sir, the assurances of my sensibility, and extreme gratitude, for the obliging and flattering expressions at the conclusion of your letter, and be persuaded, that I am impatient to have the honour of seeing you, and thanking you in person. Health, esteem, and consideration.—*Blanchot.*

*To his Excellency General Blanchot, Commandant and Administrator-General of Senegal, &c. &c.—Goree, Nov. 22.*

Sir,—Your letter of the 27th Brumaire, I received the day before yesterday, and I avail myself of the opportunity of a ship, on the point of setting sail for Senegal, to acknowledge the receipt of it.—You have stated to me that you were ready to receive this place. I regret extremely that there should be any delay in delivering it up to you; but to my great astonishment, no transport has yet arrived to carry away the garrison. Yet I do not know of any example of an English garrison having evacuated an island restored by a treaty of peace, under any flag but its own; and as (unless the conveyance of the troops elsewhere was immediately necessary) I might be severely reprimanded for quitting the place in such a manner; an effect to which, I am convinced, you would not have me expose myself. I beg you not to be displeased at my deferring a final answer to your proposal to procure French ships to carry away the present garrison of Goree, until the return of a ship which I have dispatched to Sierra Leone, and which I expect very shortly, as the wind has been very favourable since she sailed.—I will not fail, in case of the arrival of any trans-

port whatever, to give you immediate notice of it. This circumstance will be the more desirable, because it appears to me that the vessels at your disposal at Senegal would not be sufficient, without farther assistance, to carry away the garrison and the provisions. I have the honour to be, &c. &c.—*John Frazer.*

P. S. Captain Mallard having informed me of his intention of going to Senegal, I have begged him to deliver this letter to you, and to assure you of my impatience to surrender the isle to you as soon as I shall have sufficient means for conveying the garrison and the provisions.

This letter is followed by two from the French Commandant, in the first of which he thanks Colonel Frazer for having informed him that he had taken up four French sailors who had deserted, and whom he had sent on board two French ships.—In the second letter, he acquaints the Colonel, that, in order to avoid expense and delay, he had sent on board an American ship, provisions for the use of the French, after the surrender of Goree. He requests the Colonel to give the requisite assistance to the officers sent to place them in magazines, and to take care of them.—In a subsequent letter, dated December 19, Colonel Frazer informs General Blanchot, that he had received his letter by M. Dainville, and had allowed that gentleman to bring on land certain quantities of provisions intended for the future use of the French; and that the galliot he had dispatched to Sierra Leone, had returned with letters from the Governor; that a transport to carry away the British from Goree would sail on the 4th or 5th of December.—In another letter of the 26th of Dec. Colonel Frazer writes, that since his last, Commodore Hollowell, in the *Argo*, had, in the course of a voyage for the annual inspection of the British establishment, on the coast of Africa, touched at Goree, and informed Colonel Frazer, that a part of the stores and provisions which Colonel Frazer meant to have taken to Sierra Leone were intended to be used in a different service; in consequence it became necessary to await the arrival of a vessel dispatched from England with particular orders respecting those stores, before it be possible for the British to evacuate Goree.—An answer to those two letters, dated January 4th, signifies to Colonel Frazer, that General Blanchot, being willing to take charge of whatever stores the British should find it convenient to leave, for a time, at Goree, would expect, that the day previously fixed for the cession of the isle, should not be altered on account of any change in the destination of those stores, and would therefore come to take possession of the isle on the day agreed upon, unless he should again hear from Colonel Frazer, with a more decisive refusal of the cession, upon weightier reasons. To this letter Colonel Frazer sent the following answer:

*Goree, Jan. 14, 1803.*

Sir,—In answer to your letter of the 4th instant, which I had the honour to receive on the 11th, I must beg leave to refer you to my letter of the 26th of Dec. 1802; and to observe, that, in consequence of the information which I announced to you, that I had received from Commodore Hollowell, subsequent to the date of my letter of Dec. 19th; it appears necessary for me to wait here at least some time, for the arrival of a vessel from England, instead of proceeding, as I had proposed, to embark the troops and all other things whatsoever, on board the transport from Sierra Leone. This is so much the more necessary, because, as the Commodore sailed nearly in the end



of October, it is highly probable that the vessel which I expect may arrive one of these days. I should, therefore, have wished to delay writing to you till I might have been able to announce that vessel's arrival, if I had not feared that such a delay might appear to imply a want of due regard for yourself personally, to whom it is my earnest desire to testify all possible respect upon this occasion.—Permit me to add, that as you expressed in your letter of the 18th of November, an apprehension lest any delay in the restitution of Goree should bring upon us the blame of our respective governments, I shall be ready to do you justice, and to become personally responsible for any blame that may arise on account of a delay which has been occasioned by unavoidable accidents as to time.—*John Fraser.*

To this letter, the following is the answer of General Blanchot.

*Senegal, Jan. 15.*

Sir,—I yesterday received your letter of the 14th January, 1803, in which you do me the honour to say, that you refer me to your letter of the 26th December last, by which I had been informed, that though the transport you expected from Sierra Leone had arrived, it appeared to you necessary, since the arrival of the *Argo*, to await the arrival of another vessel before you could effectuate the restitution of Goree. In consequence of this, I shall not repair to Goree till you do me the honour of informing me, that nothing remains to retard the execution of our respective orders.—I am infinitely grateful for what you say in your last letter, obliging to myself personally in regard to the delays of the restitution of Goree. But, I hope, that the precautions I have taken, will preserve me from all blame.—I, however, intreat you, Sir, to accept my thanks, with the assurance of my esteem and consideration.—*Blanchot.*

#### FOREIGN OFFICIAL PAPERS.

**FRENCH MANIFESTO** inserted in the *Hamburg Correspondent*, of the 1st of April, 1803, at the *Desire of the First Consul*, and dated Paris, March 15.

For several months past, a paper war has been carried on between the French and English journalists and pamphleteers. This was in a manner the last dying ember of an extinguished conflagration; the last comfort of a despairing faction; the nourishment of pitiful passions, or of hungry scribblers. The French Government was, therefore, not disposed to consider it as a matter of importance. Although some difficulties prevailed, with respect to the complete execution of the treaty of Amiens, yet France relied on the justice of Britain, and employed herself exclusively with the restoration of her colonies. Trusting to the sanctity of treaties, she dispersed the remnant of her maritime power, which had been sacrificed to the English fleets.—Suddenly appears a solemn message from the Cabinet of St. James's, and informs all Europe, that France is making immense preparations in her harbours and in those of Holland; a proposal is made in Parliament, to grant extraordinary means of defence to the King of England, such as are consistent with the security of the British Empire, and with the honour of the three crowns. The sudden appearance of such a Message, renders it doubtful, whether it is the effect of *treason*, or *insanity*, or of *imbecility*. If, on the one hand, we cast a view on the ports of France and Holland, where we discover naval armaments consisting only of a few ships of the line and some frigates, destined for different colonies; and on the other, contemplate the har-

bours of England filled with a formidable naval power, we are tempted to believe, that the Message of the King of England implies merely a coarse irony, if this farce were not unworthy of the majesty of government. On considering the influence of factions, in a country boasting of its liberty, it may be supposed, the King of England has only yielded to weakness, if weakness were compatible with the principal qualification of a King ———, consequently there remain no other rational motives than those of dishonesty; of avowed enmity to the French nation; of perjury, and a desire of publicly violating a solemn treaty, in order to retain advantages, the renunciation of which is demanded by the honour of France, and by the faith of treaties.—On reading this Message, we believe we exist in the times of those treaties which the Vandals concluded with the degenerated Romans; when power supplied the place of public faith; when the enemy to be assailed was previously calumniated with armed precipitation. In this modern state of civilization, there is a certain respect which a great monarch, a polished people, owe to each other; even though it consisted only in finding a reasonable pretext for an unjust war. But here every thing is fictitious, clumsy, unjust; eternal warfare will follow a shocking war: the more unjust the attack, the more irreconcilable must be the hatred.—Such a piece of news will doubtless excite the indignation of Europe. While Englishmen themselves, who are not completely dazzled by national pride, sigh on this occasion; the *Times* calls the peace of Amiens an armistice, and has published the most bloody satire on the government which it defends: the sudden fall of the public funds is the first omen of those calamities, which may follow the violation of all the social rights.—The French are rendered indignant, rather than terrified, by English menace. Their defeats have not reduced their spirit, nor have their victories contributed to their effeminacy: in a war apparently endless, they have seen all Europe conspiring against them. Their perseverance, their bravery, and the dextrous activity of their government, have terminated that contest. This war would have a different object. France will fight for the liberty of the nations of Europe, and for the sanctity of their treaties: and if the English government wishes to render it a national war, it may easily happen that their naval power, now so formidable, might be unable to decide alone (single-handed) the fate of England, and to insure her victory.—The French, supported by their just cause, and being powerful from the confidence which they repose in their government, are not deterred by new expenses, and new sacrifices, which this war will necessarily occasion: their system of finances, more simple and less pompous than that of London, is the more secure: all their strength lies in their soil and in their courage.—On the first publication of the English message, the views of the world were directed to the cabinet of the *Thuileries*; the least movements of it obtained a character of importance; the most indefinite expressions were caught with avidity. Each expected with impatience the assembly appointed for the presentation of strangers, which occurs on one of the Sundays every month, at the drawing-room of Mad. Buonaparte; each was prepared to draw from it conclusions in his own way. It was as splendid as usual. The First Consul who appeared on this occasion, said, on entering the room to the English ambassador, who stood at the side of Count De Markoff: "Now we have



been fighting for twelve years, a storm appears to rise in London, and they are inclined to fight twelve years longer. The King of England says, that France is making immense naval preparations; he has been led into error. In the French ports, there is not a single armament of any consequence; the whole fleet has sailed for St. Domingo and the colonies. With respect to the ports of Holland, which are likewise quoted in the message, there is only one armament under the command of General Victor; and all Europe knows its destination to be Louisiana. The King farther observes, that differences prevail between the cabinets of Paris and London. I know of none. It is true, England ought to evacuate Malta; and Malta has not been evacuated; and as his Britannic Majesty is bound to that effect by the most solemn treaty ever concluded, there can be no doubt respecting the speedy evacuation of this island. It is intended to intimidate the French people by warlike preparation? It is possible to kill, but not to intimidate them!—In the course of the assembly, when the First Consul again approached Count de Markoff, he said to him in a semi-audible voice, 'The English ministry wish to retain Malta for five years longer: such a proposal was insulting, and no treaties ought to be concluded, which it was not intended to fulfil.' At the conclusion of the assembly, when the English Ambassador was about to retire, the First Consul said to him, "Madame the Duchess of Dorset, has spent the unpleasant part of the year at Paris. It is my sincere wish that she may also spend the agreeable season. But if it should happen that we really must go to war, the responsibility is exclusively with those who deny the validity of their own contracts, since they refuse to observe treaties which they had concluded."—These words of the First Consul require no comment. They explain completely his present opinions, his past conduct, and his resolution for the future. It is sufficient to compare them with the tergiversations, the duplicity, the evasions, and the Message of the English Government, in order to be enabled to decide on the justice of the dispute.

### FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

*Constantinople, Feb. 19.*—The arrival of the French Ambassador at Constantinople has been for this capital a signal of joy. At the disembarkation of General Brune, announced on the 24th Jan. by a discharge of 17 pieces of cannon, a numerous crowd collected, and spread themselves throughout every quarter that he was to traverse.—The Grand Signor repaired to his Kiosk to see the Ambassador and his procession pass. The Reis Effendi, and the Capitan Pacha, complimented him, and all the French residing at Constantinople respectfully received him at the entrance of the Palace of France. They saw in the arrival of the Ambassador of the republic, and in that of the Commissioners of commercial relations of the republic, destined for the different ports of the Black Sea and the Levant, the pledge of the accomplishment of all their hopes.—On the 9th of Feb. the Ambassador ordered the celebration of a *Te Deum*, and at the moment when they chanted *Domine salvos fac* the French squadron, apprized of it by a flag, elevated on the top of the palace of France, fired a salute of 21 pieces of cannon, to which all the crews answered by the most lively acclamations of joy.—The first interview between the

French Ambassador and the Ottoman Ministers sufficed to re-establish France in that honourable position which she ought to hold in the Levant. The churches of the Latin worship have returned under the protection of the republic, which had been deprived during the war of the exercise of its ancient rights. The sequestration placed upon the establishments which belong to it, is removed. Confidence is re-established between the inhabitants and the French, and the residence of the Ambassador will soon produce those advantages which the peace gave reason to hope for. (*Moniteur.*)

*Berne, March 15.*—On the 10th of this month the firing of cannon announced the fate of this country. The Landammann, after attending divine service, went to the Town Hall to install the committee of organization, of which he is president. At nine o'clock a message was sent to the commander of the troops, with a decree of the committee for resuming the ancient cockade, which is blue and black. The Landammann was dressed in a costume of black, and wore a sword.

*Hague, March 16.*—A courier from the British government disembarked the day before yesterday at Helvoetsluys, with dispatches, which are said to be of the greatest importance, for the British Envoy at Petersburg. He also brought dispatches for Mr. Loston, the English Minister at the Hague.—The new measures of the British Government have reduced the business of our Bank to a kind of stagnation. There prevails a general stupor throughout the country, arising from the contemplation of the unfortunate situation in which we shall be placed, if war should again destroy those prospects which peace had began to realize.—At the very moment almost that the expedition was about to sail for Louisiana, an order arrived from Paris to prevent its sailing.

*Bordeaux, March 21.*—To the eagerness with which sugars, coffees, and cottons, have been bought up for three days past, have succeeded the most perfect calm; the exchange the day before yesterday was remarkable for the inactivity of the demand for produce which, 24 hours before, was an object of the greatest avidity. It appears that the ardour of speculation is cooled, and every thing now proves that it was our political situation with respect to England that caused here those orders of which so few people knew the motives.

*Hamburg, March 29.*—This day was called an extraordinary meeting of the senate, which has given occasion to a thousand reports, and renewed the opinion of an immediate rupture between France and England. It was occasioned by a violent note, it appears, of M. Reinhard, the French minister, occasioned by a refusal to print, in the gazette of this city, some declaration against England. He has not only insisted on this, but as is generally believed, demanded, that in case of war our port shall be shut against the English and their allies, and all English property confiscated. Whatever demands he may have made will surely be granted, unless the King of Prussia interferes to prevent it. This declaration, whatever it be, is, we understand, to be printed to-morrow.

*March 29.*—*1/2 past 9 at night.*—Last night, and during the whole of this day, the inhabitants of this city were in the greatest agitation and alarm, occasioned by a variety of reports, which had a powerful influence in depressing the course of exchange on London.—In consequence of the arrival of a courier from France late last night, the senate was convened, and held an extraordinary meeting, which lasted four hours. The subject of considera-



ation was a threatening note from the French minister Reinhard, relative to the following affair:—A few weeks ago Reinhard applied to the magistrates to procure the insertion, in the *Correspondenten*, of a manifesto from the pen of Buonaparte himself, full of the most indecent invectives against England. This production was referred to the syndic and censor of the press, Mr. Doorman, who permitted it to be inserted, after striking out the most objectionable passages. The manifesto, thus modified, appeared in the *Correspondenten* of the 25th inst. under the head of Paris, March 15, as an extract from the "*Bulletin de Paris*." This, however, instead of satisfying the French minister, has provoked his utmost indignation, which is not to be appeased but by publishing it in its entire state. The re-publication in an official shape is accordingly to take place to-morrow in all the *Hamburgh papers*, which, in consequence of an order from the government, are not to be put to press until after ten o'clock.

*Milan, March 14.*—The Consulta having written officially to the First Consul, to express their gratitude to him for having caused the flag of their republic to be acknowledged by the Barbary powers, and also to testify their concern for the death of General Leclerc, received the following answer from Buonaparte, dated 21st February:—"Citizens members of the consulta, I have received your letters, and am obliged to you for the obliging expressions contained in them. Death is common to all, but the memory of good actions never perishes. The Minister Marescalchi sends you the act of mediation which I have made for the Swiss. The order and tranquillity of that country is closely connected with the order and tranquillity of the Italian republic.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."

*March 29.*—Respecting peace or war we waver still in uncertainty; but as soon as it is known that the English have seized upon a vessel, 80,000 French troops will march to Italy, 60,000 to Holland, 20,000 towards Naples, and General Murat has already departed for that place, in order to require of the King the opening of his ports in Naples and Sicily to the French army. Buonaparte is said to have declared, that should it come to a war, he would acknowledge no neutrality—but allies or enemies.

*Basle, March 25.*—It is now certain, that the Helvetic troops are to pass into the service of France. The Landamman has issued a proclamation upon this subject, addressed to the troops, in which he says—"Your lot is fixed. The First Consul receives you into his armies, and his paternal care will make you forget all that you have suffered."

*Paris, March 31.*—Reports have been spread respecting Martinique, which are unfounded. According to the latest intelligence received by Government, that colony is in the best state; the sickness had entirely ceased, and the loss of men which had been experienced, was repaired by the arrival of a battalion of the 84th demi-brigade of the line, 650 strong, all in the best state of health. —*Moniteur*

*Brussels, March 21.*—Letters from the Hague state, that French couriers are continually arriving here, charged with dispatches relative to the present situation of affairs, as also to the dispositions which are to be made on the coasts of Holland, from the Maese to the Texel. In case of a rupture with England, there will be assembled on the coasts of the Batavian republic a respectable force, which may be employed for a disem-

barkation on the northern coasts of England, or in Scotland. General Victor, Captain-General of Louisiana, has sent an officer of his staff to Paris for instructions. It is much feared in Holland, especially at Amsterdam and Rotterdam, that war will be renewed. Military preparations are making with the greatest activity from Dunkirk to the mouth of the Seine.—*March 24.*—They write from Dunkirk, that there, at Havre, and Boulogne, several marine officers are arrived, to superintend the preparations in the Dock-yards, where the men work by candle-light. All the gun-boats and light vessels will be again fitted out. The troops which were to be embarked at Dunkirk for the colonies, remain till further orders. Along the coasts of Flanders, and what was formerly Picardy, several camps will be formed in the beginning of April.

*Mentz, March 22.*—In the departments of the Sarre, Meuse, Rhine, &c. orders have been received for divisions of troops to march for the coasts.

*Hague, March 26.*—The French troops which were to sail from Helvoetsluys to Louisiana, have hitherto remained embarked. To-morrow they will be all on board, to the amount of 2,500 men, and their earlier or later sailing will depend on the termination of the differences between France and England, concerning which negotiations are now pending. About 2000 troops, to be employed in the Louisiana expedition, arrived yesterday at Helvoetsluys in forty vessels, from Hirtzogenbutsch.—*March 29.* The Batavian Government has received official intelligence from its Ambassador in London, that although a Cabinet order of the 14th of October was dispatched to the commanding officer at the Cape, to suspend the evacuation of that place till further orders, and which had had the consequence already known, another order of the Cabinet had been made up to the 16th of November succeeding, containing definitive orders for the evacuation of the Cape, which order went from England on the 29th; so that the Cape has now been for some time in the hands of the Batavian Government.

## DOMESTIC.

*From the London Gazette.—St. James's, March 16.*—The King was this day pleased to confer the Honour of Knighthood on William Paxton, Esq. William Blizard, Esq. and Charles Blicke, Esq.

*Whitehall, March 26.*—The King has been pleased to appoint Mr. Patrick Fotheringham, to the Office of Commissary of the Commissariat of Orkney and Zetland, in the room of Mr. James Stewart, deceased.

*Whitehall, March 29.*—His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland has been pleased to appoint the Reverend Peter Hawker, Jun. of Woodchester, in the County of Gloucester, to be one of his Royal Highness's Chaplains, in the room of the Reverend Samuel Peach, deceased.

*St. James's, March 30.*—The King was this day pleased to confer the honour of knighthood on James Duberly, of Gains-Hall, Huntingdonshire, Esq. Francis Searle, of Kingston-upon-Thames, Esq. and John Dumaresq, Esq.

*Crown-Office, April 2, 1803.*—Members returned to serve in this present Parliament. Borough of Brackley, Anthony Henderson, of Kensington, Middlesex, Esq. in the room of J. W. Egerton, Esq. now Earl of Bridgewater.—*City of Coventry.* Peter Moore, Esq. in the room of N. Jefferys, Esq. whose election has been declared void.



*Whitehall, April 4.*—The King has been pleased to grant unto Ralph Bigland, Esq. (Richmond Herald), the office of Norroy King of Arms, and principal Herald of the North parts of England, in the room of George Harrison, Esq. promoted to the office of Clarenceux King of Arms.—This Gazette contains two Orders in Council, the first prohibiting, till the 30th of April, the exportation of corn of all kinds, as also to admit the importation, duty free, with the exception of rice and malt; the other prohibiting the exportation of various articles of fresh and salted provisions, butter, onions, &c. till the 12th of June.

On Wednesday the Right Honourable Lord Hutchinson, K. B. was made free of the Worshipful Company of Salters, and proceeded to Guildhall, attended by Sir John Eamer, and the Master, Wardens, and Court of Assistants of the Company, to be admitted into the Freedom of the City, voted to him by the court of Common Council for his eminent services.—The Chamberlain communicated to his Lordship, the thanks and resolution of the Court of Common Council. He was sworn into the Freedom of the City, and afterwards a sword of 100 guineas value was presented to him, as a token of the sense this Court entertain of the gallant and meritorious conduct he has so frequently displayed in support of the honour and dignity of his country.—His Lordship then addressed the Chamberlain as follows, viz.—“ Mr. Chamberlain,—I have received many honours from my sovereign and my country, but I prize none more highly than the respect which I have, through you, received this day from the first commercial city in the world.—I still entertain hopes that a peace may continue; but should the ambition of a proud enemy again cause us to take up arms to protect every thing that is dear to us, I trust I shall ever be ready to discharge the duties of any situation I may be entrusted with, and prove myself not entirely unworthy the favours conferred on me by my sovereign, and particularly from this great city.”

*Bankrupts.*—Hance, W. Tooley-street, Southwark, merchant.—Stokes, W. Old Broad-street, merchant.—Sly, G. Wanstead, stock-broker.—George, F. Panteague, Monmouth, coal merchant.—Hutchon, T. Coleman-street, merchant.—Rome, R. Penryn, merchant.—Richmond, J. Skerton, Lancaster, gardener.—Acocks, B. Red Lion-square, coal merchant.—Norton, P. Whitechurch, Salop, inn-holder.—Bestow, F. Milk-street, hosier.—Bishop, T. Little East Cheap, carpenter.—Barkly, J. N. Tower Royal, merchant.—Powney, D. the younger, Sherborne, Dorset, victualler.—Brook, E. Wakefield, money-scrivener.

*Deaths.*—On Sunday last, at her seat at Burton Pynsent, Somersetshire, in the 83d year of her age, the Right Hon. the Countess Dowager of Chatham, relict of the late Lord Chatham, and mother to the present Earl, and the Right Hon. William Pitt.—In Sackville Street, Dublin, Lord Walscourt.—On Wednesday, at his house in Piccadilly, in the 74th year of his age, the Right Hon. Sir W. Hamilton, K. B.

STOCK. April.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bank Stock.	90½	—	—	—	—	—	166½
3 pr C.R. An.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr C. Con.	62½	63½	61½	61½	62½	62½	—
4 pr C. Con.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 pr Cl. Ann.	—	68½	68½	68½	68½	68½	77½
Bank L. Ann.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
D. S. 1778 & 9	—	—	—	—	—	—	18½
3 pr Cl. 1797	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Omnium	15½	14½	16½	16½	16½	16½	—

## LONDON COURSE OF EXCHANGE.

AMSTER. C. F. 36 2 2 us.	LEGHORN . . . . . 40½
D, at sight 35 8 1 1 1 1	NAPLES . . . . . 40½
ROTTERDAM 36 3 2 us.	GENOA . . . . . 45½
HAMBURG 34 5 2 us.	VENICE, 55 livres piccole
ALTONA . . . 34 6 2 us.	effective per £. ster.
PARIS 1 day 24 16	LISBON . . . . . 66½
PARIS . . . . 25 1 2 us.	OPORTO . . . . . 67½
BOURDEAUX, 25 1	DUBLIN . . . . . 14½
CADIZ . . . 35 1 1 1 1	BILBOA . . . . . 36
MADRID . . 35½ effective	AGIO, bank on Hol. p.

## SUMMARY OF POLITICS.

THE HAMBURG MANIFESTO, which will be found in p. 527 of the present sheet, was, as appears from its date, written at Paris, and it is a fact, now well established, that it was inserted in the Hamburg paper by the *command* of the French government. The editor, it appears, refused to insert it; but, the SENATE of that *free* city, in consequence of a threatening note from M. Reinhard, the French minister, compelled him to obey the command. We state, too, upon good authority, that Reinhard, in the name of his government, has declared to the senate of Hamburg, that, if war breaks out between England and France, Hamburg must take part with the latter. Our readers will perceive how this accords with the provisions contained in the declaration of France and Russia, relative to the new-modelling of the German empire, which provisions expressly state, that the free and imperial cities of Hamburg, Bremen, &c. &c. shall, in case of future wars, “ remain *neuter*, “ and that their neutrality shall be assured “ by the empire, and recognized by the “ other belligerent powers.” (1)—As to the manifesto itself, it contains nothing new; nothing which has not, in spirit at least, been repeated, once a month, or thereabouts, in the *Moniteur*, ever since the conclusion of the peace of Amiens. The object of it is, to throw upon England the odium of the rupture, in which object, as far as relates to the continent of Europe, France will completely succeed. The base abandonment of our allies, has created against us such universal jealousy and hatred, that there is no charge against us, however false and absurd, that will not obtain implicit belief.—With respect to the *insolence* of this manifesto, and of the language of Buonaparté to Lord Whitworth, we question the propriety of the term. Language, like most other things, must often be considered as relative to something else. What is *insolence* when made use of towards one description of persons, is not insolence when addressed to another description of persons: the very

(1) See Register, Vol. II. p. 265.



compliments which a man bestows on his slave, would be the height of insolence if offered to his equal. Previous, therefore, to our seriously fixing the charge of insolence on Buonaparté, we should take care to ascertain his real relative situation with respect to the persons, towards whom he has exercised what we are pleased to call insolence; and, we, for our parts, are clearly of opinion, that it is absolutely impossible for Buonaparté to be insolent to either the ministry who made, or the people who applauded, that disgraceful treaty, the fulfilment of which he now demands.—Viewing the Consul's language to Lord Whitworth as to its effect with regard to the interest and honour of France, we are very far indeed, from thinking that it proceeded from "passion, or from madness, and that Buonaparté forgot the dignity of his station." This opinion does, indeed, seem to be worn out with our contemporaries, who have now discovered, not only that there was "method in the madness," but that the whole scene was "premeditated," and even agreed on in council, the day before it took place! And, what could have been better imagined to strike terror to the hearts of the timid herd, by whom the Consul was surrounded, and who instantly retired to their hotels to draw up and dispatch to their several courts an account of the humiliation of England; to communicate the glad tidings, that England, haughty England, was reduced to a level with themselves?—"Lord Whitworth behaved with great dignity and firmness." Yes; firm as a post, and almost as silent. There was a time when, under such circumstances, an English Ambassador would instantly have left, not only the drawing room, but the country, and when his own country would have replied, not by a cringing state-paper, but by the mouths of her cannon. But, that time is gone, never, we fear, never to return.

THE AFFAIR OF GOREE, an account of which will be found in p. 523, exhibits another proof of the indecision and imbecility of the ministers. If they meant to hold this conquest, in consequence of the previous violations of the treaty of Amiens, on the part of France, how came they to give up a dozen places, each of which was of fifty times the importance? And, if they meant to restore it, why were there not vessels to bring the garrison away?—During the debates on the definitive treaty, Mr. Addington, in reply to Mr. Windham, made use of the following words:—"If the Right Hon. Gentleman has any specific object besides that of a general censure upon the

"treaty, let him state it. Does he mean "to prevent restitution being made according to the provisions of the treaty? If he does, let him state it. But, it is an object, in the prosecution of which, I believe, he will not be countenanced by this House." (2) What will now be said to this cowardly crowing of pompous chancicleer upon his own dunghill? Does it now want any motion of Mr. Windham "to prevent restitution being made according to the provisions of the treaty?" That gentleman does not now stand in need of any vote of the House to "countenance" him in his opposition to the disgraceful and foolish compact, which, if it has not been rendered null and void by the French, has already been, in numerous instances, grossly and shamefully violated by the English ministry.

AMERICAN STATES AND LOUISIANA.—Recent advices from the United States inform us, that the Congress have, at last, agreed to talk about measures of preparation with regard to the Mississippi navigation. Certain resolutions were, in the month of February, proposed, and passed in the senate, relative to the building boats and calling out a portion of the militia; but, from anything which has reached us, it does not appear, that preparations were actually determined on. The French, as soon as they hear of the anger which has been excited in America, will, as we before observed, take care to adopt such measures as shall effectually do it away. (3) Indeed, we have good reason to believe, that these measures have been already adopted; for, there appeared in the Paris papers of about fifteen days ago, a short paragraph, stating, that Spain had countermanded the orders, which had been given to the intendant of New Orleans, and in consequence of which the Americans had been deprived of a place of deposit.—Should circumstances, however, make the Americans resolve on a seizure of New Orleans, on driving out the Spaniards, and on keeping out the French, they will, if they begin instantly, have only one serious difficulty in the way; to wit, that of getting out of the mouth of the river in spite of the maritime force of France and her allies.—We shall treat of this subject more at large another time. At present it is impossible to say, with any tolerable degree of correctness, what are the views and intentions of the American President and his Party.

#### THE ADDINGTONIAN NAVY.—The re-

(1) See debates, Register, Vol. II. p. 114.

(3) See Register, Vol. III. p. 497, where the line of conduct, which France will be likely to pursue, in this respect is pointed out.



marks, which we made, on this subject, last week, have drawn from the ministry a statement of their naval preparations, which statement is as follows :

PLYMOUTH.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
In Cawsand Bay .....	NEPTUNE.....	98
	VENERABLE.....	74
	CULLODEN.....	74
	COURAGEUX.....	74
Expected there from Spithead	HECTOR.....	74
From the Nore.....	ALBION.....	74
Ready for sea, only waiting for a fair wind to go into Cawsand Bay .....	TORNANT.....	80
	MALTA.....	80
	SPARTIATE.....	74
	PLANTAGENET.....	74
Will be ready in a few days	MARS.....	74
	CONQUEROR.....	74
PORTSMOUTH.		
At Spithead, ready.....	DREADNOUGHT.....	98
	RUSSELL.....	74
NORE.		
Ready for Spithead.....	ARDENT.....	64
WOOLWICH.		
Ready for sea, having only her guns to take on board.....	SCEPTRE.....	74
SHEERNESS.		
Will be ready in a few days..	MINOTAUR.....	74
	THUNDERER.....	74
	RAISONABLE.....	64

These, we are told, in the same statement, are "all the line of battle ships in commission at home," though Mr. Addington's "lunar month" expires this very day; for, the King's message was delivered to parliament on the 9th of March. Where, then, are the fifty ships of the line? Here are but nineteen; and, even according to the express acknowledgment of this statement, five out of these nineteen are not yet fit for sea. But, we asserted, that there were not, last Saturday, six ships of the line, at home, fit for sea, and, from the following statement, which is not, and which cannot be contradicted, our assertion is completely established.

NEPTUNE, 100 men short of her complement.
VENERABLE, ditto.
CULLODEN, ditto.
COURAGEUX, ditto.
HECTOR, repairing.
ALBION, fit for sea.
TORNANT, 110 men.
MALTA, no men.
SPARTIATE, no men.
PLANTAGENET, fit for sea.
MARS, no men.
CONQUEROR, not rigged.
DREADNOUGHT, fit for sea.
RUSSELL, only 300 men.
ARDENT, only 200 men.
SCEPTRE, only 20 men and boys.
MINOTAUR, only 125 men.
THUNDERER, only 200 men.
RAISONABLE, fit for sea.

This, then, is the true state of the British navy! Well may the wise, zealous, and provident heads of that department,

station *blocks* and *hulks* to guard the mouth of the Thames! This is the happy and honourable result of those "*excellent regulations*," introduced by Lord St. Vincent, and applauded by the sapient Mr. Addington! And, is there nobody; is there no one member of parliament, who will call upon the minister for the fulfilment of his promise, relative to the *fifty ships of the line*? The month of emergency is now expired: where are the ships? If "*imminent danger of invasion*" did not exist a month ago, and if it has not existed from that time to this, the proclamation for calling out the militia was and is *unlawful*. If such "*imminent danger*" did exist, it was a case of great emergency; and where, then, we repeat, are the *fifty ships*, which were, in that case, to be got ready for sea in the space of a lunar month?—On an occasion like this, it may not be improper to refer to the opinions of Lord St. Vincent, at the close of the American war.—"SIR JOHN JERVIS desired the House to take a view of "the fleets of other powers, and extolled "the wisdom of keeping up a formidable "and respectable navy. The peace might not "last long, and if a new war should "speedily break out, it would then be too "late to complain of the reduction of our "maritime force. We could only be considered by attending to it, and *nothing could be more impolitic than to yield inconsiderately to idle and unsubstantial reasoning about parsimony, proper and wise expenses were the best and happiest economy*. And in this "country no money could be wasted that "was applied to preserve the naval "strength, for upon that strength our security depended in the most effectual "manner." (4) This was a very wise and manly way of thinking. Who would, in the year 1783, have imagined, that Sir John Jervis would ever have lent his hand to reduce the British navy to that state in which we now find it? Who would have imagined, that he was destined to be the instrument of the system of parsimony which he here so forcibly condemns; and that, the time was to come, when he himself should conceive the notion of defending his country by *blocks and hulks*!—But, parsimony was the basis of that treaty, to have counselled which Lord St. Vincent regards as "*the pride of his life*."—Our former article, on this subject, (5) has brought forth most dreadful abuse, through the channel of some of the daily papers, which abuse we should, from

(4) *Parli. Debates, Annual Register for 1783.*  
(5) *Ibid. Register, Vol. III. p. 475.*



the ignorance and vulgarity it exhibits, be led to attribute to the Lords of the Admiralty themselves. In one breath they accuse us of treason in *exposing the weakness* of the country to the enemy, and, in the next, of falsehood in *greatly under-rating the strength* of the fleet fit for sea. Now, either our statements are true, or they are false; if true, we have not under-rated the strength of the fleet fit for sea; if false, we have not been exposing the weakness of the country to the enemy, whom, on the contrary, our statements tend to deceive and mislead. We now assert, that there are only *four* ships of the line fit for sea; if this assertion be false, it can certainly be of no use to the enemy, and if it be true, the country certainly ought to know it. But, if we, who have neither commercial agents nor spies in the sea ports, can obtain intelligence as to the state of the fleet, shall it be believed that Buonaparté finds it difficult to obtain such intelligence? For our parts, we sincerely believe, that he has intelligence of this sort infinitely more correct and minute than any that the Admiralty can boast of; and, it is by no means carrying suspicion too far, to suppose that he may have an agent, of some sort or other, in, or about, every ship in commission.——That an attempt at an invasion of England or Ireland will speedily take place, it would be too much to say; but, when we consider, that French French troops, in great numbers, have lately been marched into Holland, where they can possibly have no other object; that 60,000 men are stationed within a day's march of Brest; that Rochefort, St. Maloes, Caen, Havre de Grace, Boulogne, Calais, Gravelines, Dunkirk, Ostend, and Flushing, are all full of troops, and that camps are actually forming on three or four parts of the coast of France and Belgium; when we consider this, and are acquainted with the vast numbers of flat-bottom boats, which are constantly held in a state of preparation, we may, one would think, be permitted just to ask, how a French army covered by four or five ships of the line, could be prevented from landing at a point, where there might be no English army to repel it. What, in our present dismantled state, is to prevent an invasion of Ireland? There are 18,000 men in that country, 10,000 of whom are wanted, and are absolutely necessary for the garrison duty; and, as to the militia, a single regiment will not be collected, and brought out, for these nine months, at the very soonest. What, then, would be the consequence, if a well-ap-

pointed army of 15,000 men, escorted by four or five ships of the line, were to sail out of Brest, for Ireland? We have not four or five ships of the line, at any one place, fit for sea; and, consequently, could not send out a force to meet them. And, in this state it is, that we are bidden to hold our tongues, and to repose implicit confidence in the very men, who have brought us into this dangerous and disgraceful situation!

CHANGE OF MINISTRY.—For several weeks past, rumours have prevailed, on this subject; more, perhaps, from the obvious necessity of such a change, than from any real grounds for believing it to be in the contemplation of the persons concerned. That the present ministers cannot go on alone is certain. The thing is absolutely impossible. The state would fall to pieces in their hands in the space of six months; and, as to money, the men, who would make a loan to Mr. Addington, would deserve to spend the remainder of their lives in a work-house.—Of contemplated changes, or, according to some, changes that have *already* taken place, we know nothing more than what we have seen in the ministerial paper, the True Briton, from which we make the following extract:—"The war which we shall have to wage will be for existence, and it will chiefly depend, under the favour of Providence, upon our own unanimity and exertions, whether the issue shall be glorious to us or not. It is that we may possess that unanimity and success, that we court the Union, in the executive government, of those talents and principles which, during unparalleled domestic perils and ten years dreadful warfare, preserved us at once from the horrors of revolution, and raised our resources and our glory together, to a pitch unequalled in our annals. In this wish, we believe, we are supported, not only by a great majority of the nation, but by a great majority likewise of the present ministers. The uprightness of their intentions (the majority of the present ministers we mean), the real love they bear their country, the principles which they have uniformly practised, and a similarity of mind and sentiment, identify them with the man to whom the eyes of the nation are at this moment anxiously turned. The measures of the present ministry, as far as that great man's sentiments are publicly known, have received his warm and unqualified approbation and support. He approved of the peace which the ministers made, because he

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"thought that peace was necessary to, and  
 "anxiously desired by, the country, and be-  
 "cause that, even with such a government  
 "as existed in France, the experiment of  
 "peace was worth the trial. That peace  
 "was made, we rejoiced at the time, and  
 "we now as sincerely rejoice. Short as it  
 "has been, the nation has had a breathing  
 "time, and we shall now enter upon the  
 "war, if war we must have, upon ground  
 "which the most inveterate and malignant  
 "opponent will find it impossible to mis-  
 "represent or condemn. Unlike an ex-war  
 "minister, and his little band of BLOOD-  
 "HOUNDS, we are not the advocates for  
 "war, much less for eternal war—bellum  
 "usque ad internecionem—but we are pre-  
 "pared to defend, to the last drop of our  
 "blood, the rights and independence of our  
 "country. If we are thus, then, to fight for  
 "our all, we surely may be allowed to express  
 "a wish to be conducted in the field by those  
 "leaders whom we love—Let Mr. Pitt,  
 "Mr. Addington, Lord Hawkesbury, Lord Mel-  
 "ville, and a few others whom we could name,  
 "direct the affairs of the nation, and we  
 "shall think, not only our safety insured,  
 "but our victory certain." (6)—The wis-  
 "dom and uprightness of men, who have re-  
 "duced us to the necessity of waging war  
 "for our existence;"—the peace being "ne-  
 "cessary to the country" while it is denied to  
 "be a peace of necessity; the wisdom of  
 "trying "the experiment of peace" at all,  
 "especially with a dismantled fleet;—"the  
 "breathing time" which peace has given the  
 "nation; the "impossibility of the grounds  
 "of a new war being condemned by the most  
 "malignant oppositionist;"—the "unanimity"  
 "likely to be produced by excepting from the  
 "praise of a prightness a part of the admini-  
 "stration; and by styling part of the parlia-  
 "ment "blood-hounds;"—these are points which,  
 "perhaps, we may hereafter have an oppor-  
 "tunity of discussing with Mr. John Hiley  
 "Addington, who, we are well assured, is  
 "the author of the article, from which we  
 "have made the above extract; but, we shall,  
 "at present, confine ourselves to a few short  
 "remarks, as to the nature of the change,  
 "which is said to be about to take place, as  
 "far as that change relates to Mr. Pitt. If  
 "he comes in, it is upon some principle, con-  
 "nected with the present state of affairs. It  
 "is declared, in the Manifesto of Buonaparté,  
 "that there were, at the date of the King's  
 "Message, no points of discussion between  
 "this country and France, except Malta,  
 "which place, he says, the English ministry  
 "wished to keep for five years longer. (7) These

assertions have been publicly and solemnly  
 made; and, they yet remain uncontradicted  
 by those vehicles, which ministers employ  
 for such purposes. If the statement of  
 Buonaparté be true (and there seems to  
 be no good reason to suppose that it is  
 not); it is incredible that Mr. Pitt should  
 join the ministers; because, agreeably to  
 his sentiments respecting Malta, it is im-  
 possible that he should not disapprove of  
 the measures, which they are pursuing, and  
 which he is called in to support. In his  
 speech on the preliminaries of peace, after  
 stating, that, "compared with the East  
 "and West Indies, the Mediterranean  
 "was but a secondary consideration," he ob-  
 served, that, "in case of a confederacy on the  
 "continent, indeed, much, undoubtedly  
 "would be done by the co-operation of  
 "a British fleet in the Mediterranean.  
 "But, in the present moment," said he,  
 "and situated as Europe now is, we ought not,  
 "upon any one principle of wisdom or  
 "policy, to prefer acquisitions in the Mediter-  
 "ranean to the attainment of the means of  
 "giving additional security to our possessions in  
 "the East and West Indies."—Is it possible,  
 therefore, that, after having, within these  
 few months, restored the Cape of Good  
 Hope, the ministers can think of going to  
 war for the temporary possession of Malta?  
 And, that Mr. Pitt will join them for such  
 a purpose?—Mr. Pitt proceeded:—"Upon  
 "this principle" [of not wounding the  
 feelings of the enemy] "he hoped the  
 "House would concur with him in think-  
 "ing, that we ought not to insist upon re-  
 "taining the Island of Malta. It appeared  
 "to him more consistent with wisdom and  
 "sound policy, rather to put Malta under  
 "the protection of a third power, than,  
 "by retaining it ourselves, to mortify the pride  
 "and attract the jealousy of the enemy." (8)  
 —Yet, this is the very object, which,  
 according to the declarations of the French  
 Government, our ministers have in view,  
 and to effect which they are now pre-  
 paring to make war.—Is it, then, we  
 ask, likely; is it possible, that this can be  
 the principle of a coalition between them  
 and Mr. Pitt? We hope not; we trust not.  
 We love to believe, that, in returning to  
 office, Mr. Pitt will return to those prin-  
 ciples of policy which formerly beamed  
 from his enlightened mind:—"Our simple  
 "object" (said he, when defending the pro-  
 secution of the last war,) "Our object is se-  
 "curity, just security, with a little mixture of  
 "indemnification. These are the legitimate  
 "objects of war at all times, and when we

(6) True Briton, March 7, 1803.

(7) See Manifesto, present sheet, p 528.

(8) See Debates, Vol. II. pp. 1137 and 1138.

" have attained that end, we are in a con-  
 " dition to derive from peace its beneficent  
 " advantages; but until then, our duty and  
 " our interest require that we should per-  
 " severe unappalled in the struggle to which  
 " we were provoked. *We shall not be satis-  
 " fied with a false security. War, with all its  
 " evils, is better than a peace in which there is  
 " nothing to be seen but usurpation and injus-  
 " tice, dwelling with savage delight on the  
 " humbled prostrate condition of some timid  
 " suppliant people.* \* \* \* I do not con-  
 " fine my views to the territorial limits of  
 " France. I contemplate the principles,  
 " character, and conduct of France; I con-  
 " sider what these are; I see in them the  
 " issues of distraction, of infamy and ruin to  
 " every state in her alliance, and therefore, I  
 " say, that until the aspect of that mighty  
 " mass of iniquity and folly is entirely  
 " changed, until the character of the go-  
 " vernment is totally reversed; until by the  
 " common consent of the general voice of all  
 " men, I can with truth tell Parliament,  
 " *France is no longer terrible for her contempt  
 " of the rights of every other nation; she no  
 " longer avows schemes of universal empire,  
 " she has settled into a state whose government  
 " can maintain those relations in their integrity  
 " in which alone civilized communities are  
 " to find their security, from which they  
 " are to derive their distinction and their glory;  
 " until in the situation of France we have  
 " exhibited to us those features of a wise, a  
 " just, and a liberal policy, I cannot treat with  
 " her.* The time to come to the discussion  
 " of a peace can only be the time when you  
 " can look with confidence to an honourable  
 " issue; to such a peace as shall at once restore  
 " to Europe HER SETTLED AND BALANCED  
 " CONSTITUTION OF GENERAL POLITY,  
 " and to every negotiating power in particular,  
 " THAT WEIGHT IN THE SCALE OF GENE-  
 " RAL EMPIRE which has ever been found the  
 " best guarantee and pledge of local indepen-  
 " dence and general security. SUCH ARE MY  
 " SENTIMENTS. I AM NOT AFRAID TO  
 " AVOW THEM. I COMMIT THEM TO THE  
 " THINKING AMONG MANKIND, and if they  
 " have not been poisoned by the stream of  
 " French sophistry, and prejudiced by her  
 " falsehoods, I am sure they will approve  
 " of the determination I have avowed,  
 " for those grave and mature reasons on  
 " which I found it." (9) Such was the policy,

(9) See his speech in the committee of supply on the 7th of June, 1799, when he also stated,

and such were the principles, which, in one of those moments when the humbler virtue of private friendship triumphs over that of public duty, Mr. Pitt abandoned, by his defence of the treaty of Amiens; but to which, we hope, he is now about to return. In what degree this hope is discouraged by his joining with men, who have persevered in a system of perpetual concession, we, at present, forbear to state; but, as we never have, in one single instance deviated from the principles on which we formerly lent him all the little support in our power, so his returning to those principles, clearly expressed by actions as well as by words, is the only ground on which we can promise ourselves the honour of being numbered amongst the friends of his new administration.

that we were in circumstances which forbade us to stop short of "an adequate, full, and rational security," that the war might be carried on for any length of time, without the erection of new debt, and that "it would not be difficult to provide taxes for eight years."

#### NOTICES.

Our Correspondent B. is informed that the Abuses in the GENERAL POST OFFICE have not been forgotten, but will be resumed in the course of a week or two. Several articles on the Navy, &c. have been deferred for want of room. The Song from Reading entitled THE DOCTOR AND THE APOTHECARY came safe to hand.

\* \* MR. COBBETT takes this opportunity to recommend, to his friends, Mr. HARDING, who has succeeded him as Bookseller, in Pall Mall, and on whose punctuality the utmost reliance may be placed.—MR. COBBETT's address is Duke Street, Westminster.

A New Edition of the First Volume of COBBETT'S ANNUAL REGISTER is in the press, and will be ready for delivery on the 20th instant.

\* \* No. 3 of the MERCURE ANGELOIS DE COBBETT, price One Shilling, was published on Wednesday last, and may be had of the publishers of this paper, and of Messrs. Dulau and Co. Soho Square.